The Uproar Over Uncle Sam As World Cop In The Congo, P. 2

And What Have We To Show For It—Except Casualties?

"North Vietnam is paying a tremendous price with nothing to show for it in return."

—Gen. Westmoreland, opening the first briefing of McNamara's ninth visit to Vietnam in six years July 7 (AP)

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Proposing An American Negro Congress

The biggest news in the country is getting the least attention. The Negro riots sweeping American cities have reached the stage, if not of revolution, then at least of a racial revolt. But the main response in a sense is to turn on the fire hydrants. This is probably the first time in history that an attempt has been to "cool off" a revolution literally by sprinkling it with cold water. An open hydrant here, a new portable swimming pool there, these seem to be the main reactions to a leaderless, spontaneous, unorganized rising, like a human earthquake, shaking with a deep and long buried racial anguish. Unless more fundamental steps are taken to cope with it, we may find it necessary one day to call out troops to deal with this rumbling Africa at home instead of rushing them to the Congo or Nigeria. The Negro rising should be the No. 1 business of the nation, not Vietnam or space or the oil resources of the Middle East or the uranium of Katanga. For what threatens us is a new kind of civil war.

Their Separation Reflects Ours

We believe deeply in the American dream of a nation of nations and a people of peoples. Our pluralism is the best answer to the murderous particularism of mankind. But in all honesty this has so far—like the great affirmations of the Declaration of Independence—carried an invisible but nonetheless tangible sign, "for whites only." The Negro, the Mexican American, the Puerto Rican and the American Indian have been the regurgitated rejects of the melting pot. Their assimilation is the challenge and necessity of our time. But we don't believe it will be brought about without enormous pressure on satisfied whites by dissatisfied colored peoples. Every society has its "untouchables" to do its dirty work cheap at low wages. Every society has some device to enslave or demean part of its people to get them to serve the rest. This has been the fate of the Negro and the function of color in our society. Either this is ended or it may tear the country apart. The wave of Negro separatism is only a reflection of the veiled but real *apartheid* of our society; the cry of black power, only an expression of black powerlessness.

It would be better to give Negro frustration organized form and voice than to let it rage on from city to city with incalculable consequences. Other multi-racial societies have found organized diversity the path to a fundamental unity. We believe the time has come for an American Negro Congress, representing every geographical and class section of American Negro life, chosen where possible by elections, where impossible by informal organizational representation. Such a representative body organized on a national scale would give dignity and drama to the Negro's needs and aspirations. In the South, as James Meredith's new march has shown, the Negro still lives in a realm of racial terror imposed by white supremacy. In the North he is cooped up unwanted in slums whose degradtion are leading to racial decay. It is time to recognize that Negro nationalism is the reflection of an undeniable reality. This is a people apart, a suppressed nation in our midst, still unaccepted fully as American though they have been here longer—as Malcolm X said—than any racial stock except the very first settlers in Virginia and New England.

A Congress which can speak for this people, which can focus attention on its problems North and South, which can draw up a statement of grievances and a program of aspirations, may seem a step backwards toward *dis*unity but could in practice prove a step forward to an ultimate reconciliation.

Why Not Land Reform in Mississippi?

A sensitive account of a Negro family moving out of rural Mississippi to the urban north has been written by Ben H. Bagdikian, for the July 15 issue of the Saturday Evening Post. It displays his characteristic sympathy for the poor and the dispossessed. It occurred to us in reading it that the human problems of the Mississippi delta are not so unlike those of the Mekong delta. In the latter (as in so many other distant places) our government constantly preaches land reform, though it usually turns up in any showdown on the side of the landlords. But we wonder why no one has suggested land reform for the Mississippi delta. There the monoculture of cotton and the concentration of land ownership has long rested on a peasantry in near-serfdom. Now mechanization is making this peasantry landless and pushing it into overcrowded city slums. Would it not be more humane and less expensive socially to buy up land and give "40 acres and a mule" to many of these "tractored out" croppers and tenants? They are farmers. They have a feeling for the land. To uproot them is creating formidable human deterioration in our cities. Why can't some group of young radical scholars do a thoughtful Fabian Society-style study and come up with a practical program for a land reform which will alleviate the human erosion in the Mississippi Delta?

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The Deeper Issues Which Need Examination in the Uproar Over the Congo

Why the Military Tail Tends to Wag the Dog in U.S. Foreign Policy

The uproar in the Senate over the Congo illustrates once more how poorly informed even the best informed Senators are on military policy. It is gratifying that men like Russell and Stennis should have responded so quickly to the danger of our becoming involved in another interventionist affair. Their response reflects the misgivings they first voiced and then quickly repressed at the beginning of the Vietnamese entanglement seven years ago. It also reflects a growing sensitivity to the ease with which the Congressional right to declare war can be rendered nugatory by military actions which create situations from which it is difficult to withdraw without loss of prestige.

How and When It All Began

But the essential element here—and the one which most needs investigation—is our military policy. The Rockefeller Brothers reports during the Eisenhower years advocated the creation of mobile strike commands which could be used in limited warfare, nuclear or non-nuclear, in colonial areas. This was gunboat diplomacy modernized to meet the needs of global American interests in oil, copper, uranium and other raw materials. It was made to order for Chase Manhattan, Standard Oil and the Rockefeller family. (Nelson Rockefeller in 1960 was ready, as he phrased it then in an indiscreet moment, to make the Congo "another Korea" rather than see its control lost to American and West European capitalism).

The ideas advanced by the Rockefeller Brothers fund were adopted by the Kennedy Administration, in the shape of its famous "military options" policy. Instead of being muscle-bound by nuclear "massive retaliation" we were to have at our disposal swift cargo planes and mobile units which could be deployed wherever U.S. interests, real or fancied, were in danger. This is how we got involved in Vietnam. Russell showed his awareness of this aspect of the problem when he recently opposed McNamara's plan for a fleet of new cargo vessels which could be deployed as floating bases and stocked with supplies at various parts of the world in emergencies. This was to have been a device for "instant interventionism."

As Russell saw then in miniature, military technology can become the determinant of foreign policy instead of its tool. If you have instruments which make intervention easy, the State Department will reach for military instead of diplomatic means in any crisis. The military, on thez other hand, must seek a world policeman role in order to prove that its huge assortment of weapons and its huge appropriations are justifiable. The bigger the military establishment the more trouble it will get you into—just to prove its "usefulness."

Now that the Congress and the country are increasingly fed up with the Vietnamese war, is the time for a really sober and thorough study of how we have drifted into the role of world gendarme. The military tail has become so huge that it's very hard for the dog not to be wagged by it. Behind that huge military establishment is the desire of our big business interests to have mobile Janissaries to protect their investments everywhere. Big as we are as a nation, we can't police the world. We can only harvest universal suspicion.

Where Even Richard Nixon Was Subversive

"The most crippling aspect of censorship is not deletion, but the positive compulsion to publish Government-supplied material word for word and submission of newspapers to orders which dictate their contents down to the size of type used for various items, their position in the paper, and the wording of headlines. The censor's instructions to newspapers after the recent visit to Greece by former U.S. Vice President Nixon gave five points which had to be included in the headlines and the introduction, and ended with a footnote: 'Warning—the main headline must not include any reference to Mr. Nixon's statement about a rapid return to parliamentary democracy, etc. This can only appear in the body of the text'."

—The Observer *(London) from Athens July 2*

Jean-Paul Sartre has just published a special 992-page issue of his monthly, Les Temps Modernes, devoted to an historic confrontation between Arab and Israeli intellectuals. I. F. Stone reviews this in an 8,000-word essay for the Aug. 3 forthcoming issue of the New York Review of Books, 250 W. 57th St., New York. You can get it on the newsstands for 40¢ or a copy free with a $7.50 subscription to the New York Review. Please mention the Weekly in writing them.

British House of Commons Turns Down A Motion to Ban The Sale of War Toys

Mrs. Kerr (Labor) moved—"That this House, conscious of the need to create the environment in which a sense of world community can develop, which is impossible at present due to the dangerous cult of violence and militarism, is of opinion that the sale, manufacture, import, export and advertisement of war toys should be banned." Her mother had toured the shops and had brought home a horrifying armoury of war toys, including guns, bombs, flame-throwers and booby-traps, modelled on weapons now used in Vietnam and the Middle East. TV, horror comics, every form of mass media was being used. Young minds were being conditioned to accept war, cruelty and violence as normal. How is it that when we have a Minister for Disarmament he cannot say something about this key subject?

Mr. Tilney (Conservative)—Mankind, unfortunately, was pugnacious, destruction to many people was fun. At a church fete they would pay sixpence to break crockery.

Mr. Darling (Board of Trade)—The United Kingdom toy industry was one of her most flourishing. Last year £16m worth of British toys were exported. The industry has a reasonably sensitive social conscience.

Mr. Parkyn (Labor)—Parliament should not interfere with the rights of ordinary people.

Mrs. Kerr—They do not have free choice. Children have been brain-washed.

Mr. Hogg (Conservative)—Mrs. Kerr had begun her speech by saying this might be one of the last occasions on which they could discuss violence before the Third World War broke out. How were they to survive by preventing children buying war toys? He did not feel much safer after hearing her proposals.

Mr. Emrys Hughes (Labor)—Mrs. Kerr was an optimist in believing that a Government whose policy was to export as many arms as possible would ban toy guns.

The motion was negative.

—*In the House of Commons,* The Times *(London) July 4*

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The Votes of the National Assembly and the Desire for Peace Both Ignored

Johnson's July 4 Rhetoric Can't Hide the Naked Military Rule in Saigon

Lyndon Johnson's Fourth of July statement ran the risk of being distributed by the Viet Cong in South Vietnam as propaganda and bitter humor. "Freedom is a gift to be cherished, yes," said the statement from the ranch, "but it is also a gift to be shared; and in sharing it, we strengthen it everywhere, at home and abroad." The kind of freedom we share in South Vietnam is very different from the kind we or anybody else cherishes.

Big Minh Got the Biggest Vote

ITEM: When the South Vietnamese National Assembly met July 2 to pass on 18 candidates for President and Vice President, it validated all but one. The one that go the biggest vote—95% of those present—was Gen. "Big Minh", hero of Diem's overthrow. (*Saigon Post,* July 3.) Yet the military junta has declared his return would endanger "national security" and won't let him come back from exile to run. His return would certainly hurt the chances of the new Thieu-Ky ticket.

ITEM: There would have been no election for the National Assembly or the Presidency except for the Buddhist agitation led by Thich Tri Quang last year. Now the Buddhist leader is backing the first overt peace candidate to appear in the race for the Presidency, Au Troung Thanh, Ky's former Economics Minister and one of the Cabinet members who resigned at the end of 1966 to protest domination of the government by Northern military men and refugees. "Vietnam has two choices," Thanh said in announcing his candidacy, "We can achieve peace or our country can be destroyed. The people should be permitted to make that decision. The junta, represented by Thieu and Ky, offers a platform of more war; We offer a platform of peace." Though Thanh has been a Cabinet Minister since 1964 under three regimes and is being attacked by the Viet Cong radio as "playing the American game," the junta is trying to smear him as a Communist.

Thanh's prospects are not good. "Thanh's slogans and platform promises are audacious," Richard Harwood cabled the *Washington Post* from Saigon July 4. "Writers, intellectuals, professional men and journalists are being arrested each week for their dissent from the policies of the junta. 'Neutralism' is considered a political crime in Saigon. Three days ago five businessmen and intellectuals were seized by the secret police for allegedly advocating a coalition government with the Viet Cong." Thanh was in jail under Diem and fears a similar fate under Thieu and Ky.

Triumphant Demonstration of How Those Revolutionary Development Teams Maintain Basic Services

"About 5,000 revolutionary development workers had been assembled in an open field for the Premier's visit to Tunghia. Several complained that they had been without food and water for 36 hours, awaiting his (Ky's) arrival. Revolutionary development workers are the mainstay of the pacification program which seeks to maintain basic services and operations in areas controlled by the Government."

—New York Times *dispatch from Danang, July 8*

For those who want to see just how bad the military situation is in Vietnam we call attention to the box below and to Wendell S. Merick's latest report in *U.S. News & World Report* July 17. Can there be a clear-cut military victory?" Merick was asked. "Would another 250,000 troops insure that?" His answer was, "No. Another 250,000 troops might not even bring the war under control, much less guarantee victory." This in a pro-war paper! The one hopeful possibility Merick sees is negotiations with the NLF by the new government to be elected in Saigon in September. This is the direction most South Vietnamese would favor if given that freedom Johnson says he wants to share with them. But the prospect is for the election of the military ticket by a rigged and minority vote (the Assembly's proposals for a run-off election to provide majority rule was rejected by the junta). In our opinion the U.S. is headed for a political defeat as disastrous as the military stalemate.

Will McNamara Dare Give Johnson As Frank A Report As These AP Prize-Winners?

"Saigon—In 1962 no one seemed to doubt that the war could be won. It is now five years later. Delusions still crowd realities. In answer to a particularly pessimistic report on pacification, a U.S. official in Saigon is informed by Washington, 'Your report is too leftist and defeatist. Please look for more encouraging aspects.'

"In statistical language, there are never any American military defeats in Vietnam. No matter how severe the U.S. casualties, the enemy usually takes far more. If the bodies were not actually left on the battlefield, then they were 'dragged away' or 'killed by air and artillery too deep in the jungle to investigate.' The ability of many 'destroyed' enemy units to return to the fray disputes allied claims. But even now the official impression is given that with 'just a few more troops' the job can be done, say 200,000 more.

"There never seems to be quite enough American troops to do the job. One reason is that hopes of stopping enemy infiltration have not been realized, either by border fighting or by bombing North Vietnam. With only about 20% of its regular army committed, Hanoi can raise the ante. The war, then, can get very much bigger but remain just as inconclusive.

"A military machine tries to justify its role. Gen. Westmoreland, seeking indices of progress, will cite enemy casualties. Authorities have been stating for years that the guerrillas are demoralized, have been denied recruits and are ineffective. Yet the enemy seems as obstinate and daring as ever. It breaks up big concentrations of American troops and scatters them by staging battles that burst like blisters across the anatomy of Vietnam.

"Units sorely needed for battles along the borders are often tied up 'securing the victories' gained months earlier. In only a handful of areas has the guerrilla organization been adequately destroyed. The cost of holding this ground makes the prospect of spreading such security throughout the country almost a tactical impossibility. Millions of American troops would be required."

—On the eve of McNamara's visit, two Pulitzer Prize winning AP men, Peter Arnett and Horst Fass, summed up their five years in Vietnam in a dispatch we saw only in the York, Pa., Gazette & Daily *and present abridged here.*

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Though the World Grows Ever Hungrier, Profit and Politics Take Precedence Over Food

Bugging Banned in Crime Detection But Dissenters Still Fair Game

THE BIG LOOPHOLE left in Attorney General Ramsey Clark's order banning wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping is that it does not apply to "investigations directly related to the protection of the national security." Nobody knows just what that means. FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover's annual testimony before the Appropriations Committee of Congress, for example, has referred to more than 2,000 organizations as Communist-infiltrated. Presumably he keeps them under surveillance to safeguard "national security." But anyone who knows the state of the American Left must know that to get a total of a few hundred, much less more than 2,000, one must count in some pretty pale and respectable organizations. The various branches of military intelligence also have had their own gumshoe men in domestic organizations. CIA is supposed to keep out of domestic affairs but is up to its neck in "ethnic groups" and the academic world. Unlike Justice Department, these other agencies almost never turn up in court and can ignore judicial standards.

Tax Returns for HUAC Snoopers

We are impressed with the new Attorney General, and wish the American Civil Liberties Union could open a dialogue with him on this. There are 11 other outfits beside the FBI on the U.S. Intelligence Board. Does the new order apply to all of them? Are they free to interpret "national security" as they please? Enforcement of the espionage act is one thing; the mushroom growth of a huge and largely uncontrollable political police another. Any ACLU talk with the Attorney General might well cover in addition the obscene habit of giving the Un-American Activities Committee the right to inspect all tax returns. John Herling deserves a tip of the hat for calling attention, in a *Scripps-Howard* column June 27, to the fact that the President had again signed such an authorization June 6.

AN UGLY FOOTNOTE ON FOOD: When the President's Science Advisory Committee issued its report last February on the Post-Apollo program (i.e. after reaching the moon) it suggested budgets of up to $7 billion a year after 1972 for space. But the new 3-volume science advisory on world food needs carries no recommendations whatever. Space is another gravy-train for the military-industrial complex; food is just human need. In the same vein was the President's decision last week to cut back wheat acreage by 13%, despite protests from his food study group and AID that a world on the edge of starvation needs more U.S. wheat. Agriculture Department was for the cut to shore up sagging wheat prices. The farm country rings with idealistic cries of "food for peace" when it sees a way to unload surpluses but the idealism is forgotten when wheat prices require acreage cuts. Secretary of Agriculture Freeman reported that less wheat was needed in the Food for Peace program. Two countries he mentioned as off the wheat list were Yugoslavia, to be punished for aid to North Vietnam, and Algeria, for expropriating American property.

HOW TIMES CHANGE (FOR THE BETTER)—The Pentagon is upset but others will cheer West Germany's decision to cut back its armed forces and to shift from an offensive (nuclear) to a defensive strategy. Foreign Minister Willy Brandt in a radio talk even sees a new European security pact as a way to eliminate all standing armies by 1987. Similarly the State Department is upset by Japan's refusal at the Asian and Pacific Council meeting in Bangkok to allow a joint communique taking a strong stand against Communist China's H-bomb and on Vietnam. This Council was intended to be the Asian equivalent of NATO.

First CIA Step Toward Honest Labelling?

The current issue of The China Quarterly, the leading scholarly journal for China-watchers, contains an article on Mao Tse-tung's cultural revolution written by Philip Bridgman. What is noteworthy is that in the biographical notes about its contributors, the journal identifies Bridgman as "a reserve analyst for the CIA." This is believed to be the first time that one of the CIA's analysts has been allowed to state his affiliation in an article under his name. Usually such articles in scholarly journals carry the euphemism, "a student of Chinese affairs" or the like.

—*In Capitol Corridors:* Washington Star, *July 9*

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